Ce /331 cont./
178 439 323 [177]

The pernicious and corruptive influence of the white men, which makes so many ravages among the poor Chané, has at least spared their pottery industry. They still manufacture considerable quantities of vessels which they sell to the other Indians and to the whites. As clever business men they complied with the taste of their new clients, and the motifs with which they decorate the pieces they export are as hideous and gaudy as the ones which ornament half-breed or creole textile fabrics or baskets.

C G 177 178 342 596

Moreover, we can understand historically certain phases of the transformation of the culture of the Guarani when they mixed with the Chané. The ancient Guarani used to live in the large house or maloca, that is, in gigantic huts sheltering several families. Having emigrated to the foot of the Andes, they kept until well into the 17th century a type of habitation which corresponded to a particular social organization (the large maternal and undivided family). In the 18th century we see them living in huts similar to the ones they still have today, intended to house only one family. In the same way one can witness the disappearance of cannibalism, which in the 18th century is no more than a memory among the Chiriguano. Certain traces of it have survived up to our day.

E 177 178 266

C 17

Thus these pages justify the assertions of the preface. With the Chiriguano we are dealing with a nation of recent formation whose civilization is a composite of Guarani, Arawak, and especially Andean elements. The geographic area inhabited by the Chiriguano can be divided into as many diverse zones of acculturation as America has. It has brought about, not the joining of three cultures, but their fusion.

Résumé

C 105 175

The Chiriguano belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family.

C [167]

They emigrated from Paraguay to the foot of the Andes in the last quarter of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th.

C /331 cont./

C 105 175 [167] [173] This migration had as its motive power the attraction which the metal riches of the Inca Empire exerted on the Guarani, and perhaps also certain mystical factors (the myth of the "Land without affliction").

/332/ The famous expedition of García is probably only an episode in this great migration.

Ce [197] [199] At the foot of the Andes the Guarani found a population of Arawak speech, the Chané, whose civilization had felt strongly the influence of the tribes of southern Bolivia subject to the Inca.

C [648] [563] [619] The Guarani exterminated part of the Chané, reduced the others to slavery, and took Chané women as wives. The Chiriguano nation issued from this ethnic mixture.

C [197] From a cultural point of view, the Chané exerted a decisive influence on the Chiriguano; and it is through them that today certain aspects of the Inca civilization are continued by the Chiriguano.

Ce [197] [197] [198] On their part the Chané adopted the language of their conquerors, keeping for a long time their Arawak speech as a secret language.

C 175 131

Situation of the Chiriguano in the 18th Century and Today

In the 18th century the territory of the Chiriguano can be defined as follows: "According to Jolis and Hervas, their domain extended from Tarija to the east a distance of 50 leagues (250 kilometers), and from north to south, 100 leagues (500 kilometers). Their frontiers were the following: In the north they reached 17° south latitude and advanced as far as the Jesuit missions of Chiquitos. In the south they reached 22° south latitude. In the region of Salinas, Itáu, and the upper Pilcomayo, they had as neighbors the Matako-Mataguayo and the Toba. Toward the west they had establishments as far as Chichas, Pilaya, Laguna, and Valle Grande. Permanent

C [101]

C [361]

/426 cont./

531 191 Sign of unknown significance. On the Machareti yambui (Plate LII, 2) was painted a crescent-shaped sign having in its concave part two dashes perhaps representing feet. The subject is doubtless a stylized bird, a presumption all the more plausible because another vessel from the same locality and made by the same hand is decorated with animal figures (dogs and toads) (Plate LII, 1).

This mysterious sign is very similar to the one found on a puco from Tolomosa in the Tarija department (Rosen, 2, Fig. 175, p. 112) and on some dishes from La Paya. These designs are also more or less stylized pictures of a bird. (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate X, Fig. 22, and Ambrosetti, 6, Figs. 35-40, pp. 56-61.)

Zoomorphic representations. Animal figures are rare in Chiriguano pottery, but their occurrence only brings out the better the similarities of this art to that of the neighboring Andean regions. The rows of yaku (pavo del monte) on the yambui from the Aguaray are the counterpart of the nandus on the Diaguite funerary urns and the La Paya birds. The dog on the vessel in the plate appears nearly identical with the bottom of a puco from Molino del Puesto, Catamarca. (Bruch, 2, Fig. 70, p. 72.)

531 191 105 The comparisons we have made could doubtless be extended and many another relationship noted between the modern pottery of the Chiriguano and that of the populations which have today disappeared from the Bolivian altiplano and northwestern Argentina. To continue such an investigation would be superfluous, for there is no one acquainted with the art which formerly flourished in the Andean and Chiriguano regions who would hesitate to establish a relationship between the two and would not have the second derive from the first.

As one might logically expect, these similarities become more numerous and more striking in proportion as one leaves the south and advances toward the north into the Andean zone which runs parallel to the habitat of the Chiriguano and Chané. When eastern Bolivia is methodically explored, models of the vessels which the ancestors of the Chiriguano admired and copied will be found.

[192] [See p. 231 -- Anshgt]

C
531 /426 cont./
171 Lacking them, the study we have pursued brings us the estab-
192 lishment of a very important fact. The existence on the upper
105 Pilcomayo of a pottery /427/ closely related to that of the

Fig. 83. Chané vessel. Prov.: Tuyuntí (Aguaray, Salta Chaco). On the belly: series of yakú (pavo del monte) in blackish brown on white background. (1/3 nat. size.)

C
531 Quebrada de Humahuaca is an indication which proves in a sure
191 way that the art of the former inhabitants of these regions was
192 identical to that of their neighbors, and perhaps racial brothers,
105 of the Bolivian altiplano.

Apropos of the Chiriguano, I believe it is wrong to speak of
S
121 Andean or Inca culture. The first of these terms is too vague and
531 the second partially false. In this chapter I have tried to demon-
171 strate that Chiriguano pottery exhibits close affinities with that
105 of the civilizations which, by their numerous points of similarity, seem to have undergone a Chincha or Atacama influence and which preceded Inca culture.

ooo /427 cont./

C 531 171 105 which preceded Inca culture. If one compares the present-day pottery of the Chiriguano with that of the Quicha /Quechua/ of Cuzco, certain analogies will appear, but they will be neither abundant nor conclusive enough to establish a direct filiation. Aryballuses are missing or rare, ornithomorphic dishes seldom found, etc.; on the contrary, we have seen how multiple and close the ties are between this pottery and that of the Chincha-Atacama period. Chiriguano pottery, in relation to that of Cuzco, is in a situation analogous to that of northwestern Argentina: on an Andean but original base, influences from Cuzco have been superposed. This Inca action on the Chicha is attested to even today by /428/ the presence among the Chiriguano of footed vessels of the purest Inca type and apodal ones of the same origin. Arising from the same influence, one may add certain decorative motifs, with which I have already dealt.

A [531] [171] [415] Arawak and Amazonian tradition is scarcely represented, except by footed bowls (compoteras), vessels with a ribbed belly, those with a body in the shape of a truncated cone and a subspherical belly, and perhaps by some motifs (T-shaped figures, Plate XXXVIII, 1).

The conclusion of this chapter will be: there exists today and for some years to come a civilization which, closely related to that of the Chicha, continues an art earlier than that of the Inca but influenced by them. May this fact make archeologists cautious!

Chapter VII

Calabashes

C 531 468 [323] The second art in which the Chiriguano excel is pyrography and engraving on calabashes. When pottery-making was an essentially feminine activity, pyrography was the province of the men. Nordenskiöld (9, pp. 233-236) thinks, completely

C 114 531 171 174 wrongly it seems to me, that pyrography is of Andean origin. He advances in support of this opinion the advantages that knowledge of metal offers to this art. Nevertheless, the populations of the

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StNordenskiöld E-5/4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Table 20.

Culture element that the Chiriguano and Chané presumably derived from the Whites.

+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence. / Question not answered.

C
Ce
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177
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511

	Chiriguano.	Chané.	Distribution favoured by natural surroundings.	Distribution independent of natural surroundings	Of great importance in the struggle for existence.
Modern hut	+	+	+	—	+
Chair	+	+	/	+	—
Wooden boxes	+	—	/	+	—
Sugar-cane	+	+	—	—	—
Water-melon	+	+	+	—	—
Reeds for arrow-shafts (Arundo donax)	+	+	—	—	+
Pellet-bow	+	+	/	—	—
Cattle	+	+	+	—	+
Sheep	+	+	—	—	+
Horses	+	+	+	—	—
Poultry-keeping	+	+	+	—	+
Riding whip stock	+	+	/	+	—
Saddle	+	+	/	+	—
Tinder when striking fire with flint and steel	+	+	/	+	—
Clothes of tanned skin	+	—	/	—	—
Leather-girdle with pocket	+	+	/	—	—
Hairband with tassels	+	+	/	+	—
Strawhats	—	+	/	—	—
Women with pierced ears	+	+	/	+	—
»Bolvéra«	+	+	/	+	—
Taba-game	+	+	/	+	—
Dice	+	+	/	+	—
»Rifle« (plaything)	+	+	/	+	—
Musical bow	—	+	/	+	—
Flutes with six carefully fitted holes	+	+	/	+	—
Trumpets of cow-horn	+	+	/	+	—
Trumpets with mouth-piece of reed	—	+	/	+	—
Vessels with lips in rims	+	+	/	+	—
Brasier	+	+	/	+	—
Tanning	+	+	/	+	—
Staff	+	+	/	+	—

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chané SF8

Culture element that the Chiriguano and *Chané presumably derived from the Whites.*
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence
/ Question not answered.

Manufacture calls for technical skill.	Man's work.	Woman's work.	Used by men.	Used by women.	Used only by children.	Still frequently used.	Luxury.
+	+	+	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—

Nordenskiöld E-8,K(1908-1909, 1913) 1929
SP10 Chiriguano SP10
Chaco SP8

Table 21.

Cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chané presumably obtained from the Cultivate Area to the west.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
? Question not considered.

C
Ce
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	Chiriguano	Chané	Distribution favoured by natural surroundings	Distribution independent of natural surroundings	Of great importance in the struggle for existence
Wooden hook on which to hang their belongings	+	+	/	—	—
Spade (Wooden)	—	—	/	—	—
Bird-net	+	—	—	/	—
Wooden bowl	+	+	/	—	—
Wooden spoon	+	+	/	—	—
Coca	+	—	—	—	—
Poncho-shirt	+	+	—	—	—
Sandal	+	+	—	—	—
Woven girdle	+	+	/	—	—
Frontlet	+	+	/	—	—
Wooden comb	+	—	/	—	—
Fleece	+	+	/	—	—
Tapa	+	—	/	—	—
Necklaces of green stones	+	+	/	/	—
Headdress worn by Chiriguano Women on festive occasions	+	—	/	—	—
Vessels which are intended to be carried by a string running round the vessel	+	+	/	—	—
Chunquantí-game	+	+	/	—	—
Charatéta- °	+	+	/	—	—
Quelta- °	+	—	/	—	—
Long wooden whistle	+	+	/	—	—
Round ° °	+	+	/	/	—
Drum	+	+	/	—	—
Vessels provided with ears or handles	+	+	/	—	—
Double pitchers	+	—	/	—	—
Water-pitchers	+	+	/	—	—
Pitchers with a bulging neck	+	+	/	—	—
Calabashes with lids	+	—	/	—	—
Calabashes with burnt in ornamentation	+	+	/	—	—
Peruvian bows	+	—	/	—	—
Rattle of bows	+	+	/	—	—
Property marks	+	—	/	—	—
Vambraces the pursuit of ostrich feathers	+	—	/	/	—

SiNordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chaco SF8

Cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Cuaná presumably obtained from the culture zone in the west.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

Manufacture clay for technical aim	Man's work	Woman's work	Used by men	Used by women	Used only by children	Still frequently used	Luxury
+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	+

S:Nordenskiöld E-8/(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

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Table 22.

Northern and Eastern Elements that occur among the Chiriguano and Chané.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

	Chiriguano.	Chané.	Distribution favoured by natural surroundings.	Distribution independent of natural surroundings.	Of great importance in the struggle for existence.
Maize-barns on piles	+	+	—	—	+
Hammock used as a bed ..	+	+	/	/	/
Bead	+	+	/	+	—
Mandioca	+	+	—	—	—
Urupe	+	+	—	—	—
Bird arrows	+	+	/	/	—
" " (special type fig. 6 E.)	+	+	/	+	—
Stone fixed onto a long rod	—	+	/	+	—
Fish-spear	+	—	—	—	—
Multi-pointed fishing-arrows	+	—	—	—	—
Fishing with poison	+	—	—	—	—
Wooden mortar	—	+	/	—	+
Round-finger, »Urupe»	+	+	—	—	+
Coast pot-spades of wood ..	—	+	/	+	+
Fine bags of plaited palm leaves	+	+	—	—	—
»Tipoy»	+	+	+	—	+
Rubber-balls	+	+	—	—	—
Small-guns	—	+	/	—	—
Panpipe	?	+	/	—	—
Game with maize-leaf balls	—	—	/	—	—
Vessels ornamented with finger-impressions	+	+	/	+	—
Bark-skirt-spindle	+	+	/	+	+
Baskets made of a single palm-leaf	+	+	—	+	—
Baskets with overlapping lids	+	+	/	+	—
»Arawak» loom	+	+	/	+	+

5:Nordenskiöld E-8,#(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chané SF8

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105 ●
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Northern and Eastern Elements That occur among the Chiriguano and Chané.
+Indicates occurrence. —Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

Manufacture calls for technical skill.	Man's work.	Woman's work.	Used by men.	Used by women.	Used only by children.	Still frequently used.	Luxury.
+	+	?	+	+	—	+	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	—	—
+	/	/	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
+	+